

Palestine Perspectives

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1967-1987
MILITARY OCCUPATION:
A DEAD-END ROAD

Editorial Editorial Editorial

THE STUBBORN REALITY

One of the favorite expressions of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat is that the Palestinians are "the stubborn reality" in the Middle East. By which he means that Arab-Israeli peace is not achievable without Palestinian participation and consent, secured through the attainment of Palestinian national rights.

This is the other side of the coin. It should be understandable particularly to people in the West who have always preached to the Arabs about the reality of Israel and the need to recognize it as a precondition for peace in the Middle East.

Through compelling circumstances or higher wisdom (it really does not matter very much), the Arabs have come to understand the necessity of dealing with Israel for the sake of peace in the region. It is time for the preachers to heed their own message, now being hurled back at them by Arafat. If the Arabs cannot have peace without coming to terms with Israel, Israel cannot have peace without coming to terms with the Palestinians.

So far, some people continue to cling to the illusion that final solutions are still feasible, and continue to hope that the Palestinians would perish, vanish, or be stricken with national amnesia, and that they would be spared the necessity of coming to terms with the "stubborn reality" that the Palestinians also are here to stay. They tried every

trick in the book to bring about the disappearance of the Palestinians, massacres not excluded. But "the stubborn reality" foiled their scheme time after time, and it mocked their efforts.

On 20 April 1987, in the city of Algiers, the PLO convened the 18th session of the Palestine National Council—the Palestinian parliament—in a show of PLO vitality not witnessed in years. The PNC convened in the midst of growing signs of a Palestinian comeback, sufficiently forceful to confound the false prophets who gleefully pronounced the Palestinians dead and banished to "the dustbin of history" after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon five years ago. To drive that point home, the 18th session of the PNC was called the "Session of the Camps and National Unity" in order to highlight the failure of the enemies of the Palestinians who tried to consign them to irrelevance by fragmenting the PLO and subjugating its popular constituency by a murderous onslaught on the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

The camps refused to surrender. The PLO restored the unity of its ranks. The Palestinians in the occupied territories mounted a vigorous uprising against Israeli repression. And the PLO celebrated it all in the midst of a most impressive show of international solidarity in Algiers. It was a good beginning to this International Year of Palestine, coinciding with the 40th anniversary of the dismemberment of Palestine.

Granted, Palestinian national rights are still a cause rather than an accomplished fact. The struggle for these rights is still difficult and long. The 18th PNC did not even demonstrate much imagination in tackling the survival needs of the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine or in exile. What it did demonstrate, however, is that "the stubborn reality" of Palestine is not only a slogan but a permanent fact of life in the Middle East.

There ought to be a lesson in this for the managers of the peace process. Peace is achievable in the Middle East, but not behind the backs of the Palestinians or over their dead bodies. □

M. Hallaj

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RESISTANCE, REPRESSION AND INERTIA

By M. Warschawski

[The following article is reprinted from *News From Within*, the newsletter of the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center. The Center and its newsletter have been recently closed by the Israeli authorities, the first instance of closure of a Jewish publication. The article appeared in the November 7, 1986 issue.]

The article begins with an introductory section which says that some people, including Israelis and Palestinians, have been voicing the view that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has become "irreversible," and they advocate means to "liberalize" it instead of ending it. Meron Benvenisti and Sari Nusseibeh, an Israeli and a Palestinian, are given as examples of this small group of people].

PLO Hegemony

The Palestinian masses opposed the occupation from its inception in 1967, regardless of the form it took. Since then they have constantly increased their capacity to resist, their national consciousness and their steadfastness by refusing any solution that would entail less than a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces and the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state on the territories occupied by Israel in 1967.

In its initial stages, resistance took the form of underground networks oriented on the whole towards armed actions usually directed from abroad by the resistance organizations in Jordan and Lebanon. Later it found expression in spontaneous demonstrations.

Between 1967 and 1971, the Israeli army did not have full control of the Gaza Strip and was on a permanent war alert in the refugee camps and urban centers. It was not until 1971 that General Sharon and the paratroopers succeeded in destroying the local armed resistance. Hundreds of people were injured, the refugee camps were ravaged and massive population transfers were carried out. The extent of the repression in Gaza explains why even today, the local political leadership and the Palestinian mass organizations are much weaker than in the West Bank.

In the West Bank, the resistance organizations were able to establish a new network of mass organizations and political cadres, which by 1975 were mobilizing the whole of the West Bank population. The victory of the PLO-backed lists in the municipal elections in 1976 and the defeat of the notables (traditionally linked to the Jordanian regime) consolidated the hegemony of the organizations which at the time represented the entire spectrum of Palestinian resistance.

Israeli attempts to set up an alternative leadership were a resounding failure. It seemed as if the Israeli authorities always missed the boat. While the PLO was still a minor or even marginal force, Israel adamantly refused dialogue with the traditional notables... Only after the authority of the PLO had been established, was Israel ready to speak to such figures, but by then such moves had become futile...



Sumud and its Limits

"Our strategy," Hassan Abdel Jawad, a nationalist [Palestinian] journalist from Dheisheh Refugee Camp, told me prior to his deportation to Jordan, is "*sumud* [steadfastness]. This is the main lesson we have drawn from the 1948 defeat. Land precedes honor [*al-ard qabl al-'ard*]; it is better to remain on the land no matter what the danger, than to defend one's honor [i.e. women] and leave the land. Our aim is to hold on."

Dozens of institutions were set up in the occupied territories, by means of financial help from abroad, to provide a service infrastructure which would support resistance to the occupation: for example, financial assistance for prisoners' families, various educational institutions, agricultural development projects and medical centers. These institutions mobilized the population into popular organizations (such as clubs, women's organizations, voluntary committees, youth groups etc.) in order to withstand oppression.

There is no doubt that the strategy of *sumud* has made it more difficult for collaborators to operate and has linked national identity with an attachment to the land in the collective consciousness of the population. But it also has its limits: *Sumud* is essentially a static strategy which has had little effect on the balance of forces between the occupiers and the occupied. *Sumud* never sought to end the occupation; this was the role of the armed struggle waged by organizations outside the country and of the Arab states.

Precisely because of its dependence on political, diplomatic and military initiatives from abroad, the strategy of *sumud* was able to mobilize the Palestinian masses only in support of the armed organizations and the leadership of the PLO which was considered the real motor of liberation. Extensive mobilization of the masses was almost always triggered by external events or in commemoration of past events. In other words, during the past decade we have witnessed a series of one-time actions (often very heroic) rather than the application of a strategy aimed at changing the relations of forces between the occupier and the occupied.

The PLO Crisis

[Here the author discusses the impact of the post-Lebanon war split in the PLO on the Palestinians in the occupied territories. It had a divisive effect. "The split in the PLO," he writes, "was followed by splits in all the national institutions in the occupied territories. The unity which characterized mass activity over the past decade was replaced by deep divisions and sectarianism... More than the repressive measures of the occupation itself, this division is responsible for the sharp decline in political initiatives and popular mobilization."

Editorial Note: This part of the article, written about six months ago, has been overtaken by recent events. The
(continued on page 3)

RESISTANCE (continued from page 2)

siege of the camps in Lebanon, which provoked unprecedented unity among Palestinian defenders regardless of partisan affiliation, has galvanized the population of the occupied territories and provoked a new wave of sustained resistance, and triggered political moves which culminated in the restoration of PLO political unity, formalized in the recent 18th PNC session].

The Carrot and the Stick

The Likud government viewed the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as integral parts of the state of Israel. Its policy was based on control of land: mass expropriations were carried out, scores of settlements were established and the settlers were given a free hand.

In regard to the population of the occupied territories, the Likud government practiced a policy of indiscriminate repression. Opposition to this policy was inevitable and in 1980-82 the West Bank experienced a general revolt. Begin and Sharon reacted by intensifying repression and preparing to invade Lebanon. They believed that the destruction of PLO bases in Lebanon would consolidate Israeli rule in the occupied territories. As Chief-of-Staff Eitan stated at the beginning of the Lebanon War: "This is a war for the future of the Land of Israel."

Strategically speaking, the Begin government was not completely wrong. But in the short term its policy of arbitrary repression served only to strengthen PLO hegemony in the occupied territories. Furthermore, the Likud government's repressive policies provoked a fracture in the Israeli national consensus and exacerbated international criticism of Israel.

Peres and Rabin's policy was much more subtle. It combined selective repression with declarations about "improving the quality of life." This policy had a twofold objective: to destroy the hegemony of the nationalist organizations, whether radical or moderate, and to allow the emergence of a new leadership linked to Jordan which would release Israel from the burden of controlling the population. We are speaking here of a functional division of power between Israel and Jordan, whereby the former controls the territory, its resources and "security" and the latter imposes a form of "self-rule" on the population. The participation of Jordan in such a scheme is fundamental. Hence the Israeli government was obliged to hold out the promise, albeit insincere, of eventual negotiations with Jordan on the future of the occupied territories.

However, Labor's policy is far from liberal; it has included more than 150 administrative detentions, some 30 deportations, the closure of one daily and two weeklies, and the arrest of union leaders. Repression is there, but it is the political cadres who are targeted and not the masses. The iron fist policy makes no distinction between Arafat supporters and radicals; any and everything connected with the PLO must be crushed to allow for the emergence of an alternative pro-Jordanian leadership.

Israeli-Jordanian Plan

Jordan never abandoned its hope to regain control over the West Bank. Even after the Rabat Summit of 1974, which recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Hashemite regime kept a foothold in the occupied territories through the joint

Jordanian-Palestinian committee's control of a set of institutions. Jordan was biding its time for a more auspicious moment to launch a new offensive.

Such an opportunity appeared following the Lebanon War. The rapprochement between Arafat and the regime which perpetrated the 1970 massacre in Jordan, was completely to the advantage of the latter: it gave pro-Jordanian elements a new lease on life in the occupied territories. In the wake of the Amman agreement, a new current emerged which amalgamated openly pro-Jordanian elements with the right wing of Fateh. [The Amman agreement has since been nullified—Editor].

However, although the Palestinian mass movement has suffered setbacks, they are not enough to concede a Jordanian solution. The selective repression applied today by the Israeli government is without doubt effective, but it cannot neutralize the population of the occupied territories in the long term.

A New Phase of Resistance

Meron Benvenisti and Sari Nusseibeh are wrong precisely for this reason. The irreversibility of the occupation is not only, nor even primarily, a question of material links between Israel and the occupied territories—number of settlements, economic integration, etc. Fundamentally the question is political and it is precisely at this level that the qualitative difference between the situation in 1948 and 1986 is obvious. After the 1948 conquest the local Arab population which remained within the borders of Israel viewed Israel as an irreversible reality for decades to come. The Palestinian people did not exist as a political entity at the time: they were dispersed throughout the Arab world and lacked both a political leadership and a national identity, and hence were unable to resist the designs of the Zionist state.

Today, the situation is completely different. The Palestinian people's struggle has succeeded in fostering national consciousness among the masses. No matter what the relations of forces are, they will not accept the Zionist occupation and they will continue to demand independence and the right to self-determination. So it is that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is not internationally condoned. Likewise, this is why the Israeli public continues to view these areas as "occupied territory." □



THE BUSINESS OF OCCUPATION

[This article is taken from *News From Within*, where it appeared in the 26 January 1987 issue under the title "Business as usual in the occupied territories."]:

The establishment of new settlements reveals very little about the dynamics of annexation or the financial outlay involved in the process. Meron Benvenisti, the head of the West Bank Data Project, estimates that yearly government capital investment in the settlement infrastructure at U.S. \$150 million. "The key to all legislation in the territories," argues Benvenisti, "is anyone empowered to act in Israel according to Israeli law may so act in the territories." The Defense Ministry, through the civil administration, which is in effect the military governor of the "local" population, has jurisdiction that is not territorial but ethnic. The Ministry of Housing decides how many flats will be built in [the West Bank settlements of] Ariel and Kiryat Arba, in the same way as it decides how many apartments will be built in Petah Tikva. [*The Jerusalem Post*, 7 January 1987].

According to a study written by Aaron Dehter which was published this month by the West Bank Data Project, Jewish settlements in the West Bank receive far more government funds than comparable communities inside Israel. The study reveals that per capita expenditure on services in West Bank Jewish towns is 143 percent higher than in comparable towns inside the green line. Per capita spending on services in West Bank regional Jewish councils is 61 percent higher than in similar councils inside Israel. The Ministry of the Interior, which channels government funds for financing the many services provided by settler councils, considers the West Bank local and regional councils an integral part of the Israeli local government system. But more often than not, the settlers' councils are given priority.

To cite another example: the government of Israel is spending millions on the construction of export-oriented factories in the West Bank and Gaza. Industry and Trade Ministry officials estimate that there are between 300 and 350 factories in the occupied territories. Israeli entrepreneurs are lured to the West Bank by generous government grants which include land and construction costs, and cheap loans. Although U.S. and European trade pacts officially apply only to Israeli goods manufactured within the green line, Israeli goods manufactured in the West Bank and Gaza are being treated as such, principally owing to Israeli customs declarations that the goods are "made in Israel"; Israel's trading partners take these declarations at face value. (Meanwhile, Arab manufacturers in the occupied territories are barred from marketing their products via Israel and the government forbids them to directly market their goods to the EEC).

The Ministry of Trade and Industry under Ariel Sharon has spearheaded the construction of a string of industrial centers in the territories and routinely provides entrepreneurs with incentives to set up factories there. According to a report in *The Jerusalem Post* on 25 December 1986, the ministry budgeted some U.S. \$19.5 million for grants to "approved enterprises" in the occupied territories in the first seven months of 1986.

[Jewish] businesses set up in the West Bank and Gaza



are eligible for ministerial grants for up to 39 percent of their equipment costs. Both the ministry's economic incentives and the relatively cheap cost of [Arab] labor have made the occupied territories lucrative not only to Israeli investors, but to Italian, German and recently French entrepreneurs as well.

The hyper-development of Israeli industry in the occupied territories goes hand in hand with the planned underdevelopment of [Palestinian] West Bank and Gaza industry to safeguard Israeli monopolies. Writing in *Ha'aretz* on 12 January, Akiva Eldar gave the example of the Elite chocolate concern which "lodged a complaint with the Standards Institute regarding the chocolate manufactured in the West Bank. It turns out that the Arab-made chocolate is somehow finding its way into the hands of the Arab population inside the green line. The giant sweets manufacturer, which enjoys an uncontested monopoly in feeding the Arabs of Greater Israel, fears that small Arab manufacturers might infringe on its territory. The Tnuva, Strauss and Yotvata dairies recently joined forces against a local initiative in Ramallah to set up a dairy for marketing milk products to the area."

The above example is only one of many. The discouragement of competition with Israeli economic enterprises, lack of an industrial infrastructure, absence of support systems and credit facilities are all integral to Israel's policy of planned underdevelopment in the West Bank and Gaza. At the same time, the economic activity of approximately 60,000 settlers equals at least 35 percent of the gross domestic product of the occupied territories.

Eldar points out that "the political stalemate is even more convenient than official annexation. The population of the territories imports 90 percent of its needs from Israel while exporting only 70 percent of its own production. This becomes even clearer in dollar terms: Israeli exports to the territories totals an annual U.S. \$700 million compared with imports of no more than \$200 million annually. This annual half billion surplus reduces by a quarter Israel's overall trade deficit (which stands at \$2 billion, instead of \$2.5 billion). It should be noted that a considerable part of Israel's imports from the territories have relatively low added value (e.g. processed textile materials from Gaza and carpentry products from the West Bank). Had the territories been annexed, Arab industrialists would have enjoyed all the benefits granted to their Jewish competitors."

In the meantime, the much vaunted "improvement in the quality of life" of the Palestinian population announced by the national unity government two years ago has remained mere rhetoric. In fact, there was a 4.4 percent decrease in the 1985 GNP of the West Bank and Gaza. At the same time, dependency on Israel is increasing as more and more workers seek employment inside the green line or in Israeli plants operating in the occupied territories. □

PNC XVIII: SESSION OF NATIONAL UNITY

Thousands of Palestinians and supporters from more than eighty countries with high-level delegations representing more than a hundred governments, political parties and liberation movements assembled in Algiers to witness the opening of a historic session of the Palestine National Council on 20 April 1987. The 18th session of the PNC crowned a series of dialogues between PLO factions which ended four years of strife which at times threatened the viability of the Palestinian national liberation movement.

The final touches to this Palestinian reconciliation came during a week-long national dialogue held in Algiers just before the opening of the PNC. On the outcome of that dialogue depended the return to the PLO of some of the factions which had boycotted it since 1983, particularly the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Enough of the differences were ironed out, and when the PNC session was formally opened on 20 April, all of the significant PLO groups were represented in it. The gathering, in effect, signified the end of the four-year rebellion against the constitutional leadership of the PLO.

For Palestinians throughout the world, it was a historic occasion. It not only reunified PLO ranks, but it also

meant the triumph of the Palestinian national movement over the most determined and sustained attempt to divide and conquer the PLO and to subjugate it to external influence. The PLO not only emerged united, but it also made good on its pledge to safeguard Palestinian independence from external influences which tried to make the PLO subservient to their purposes.

The problem began in 1983 when a small group of dissidents from Fateh, the largest PLO group, rebelled against Arafat's leadership and were joined by other PLO factions to form the "Salvation Front" as a competing organization under Syrian control. The Front's obvious subservience to non-Palestinian direction, and its failure to generate much popular support among the Palestinian people curtailed its ability to gain recognition as representative of the Palestinian people. When the Lebanese Amal militia began its series of attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in 1985, supported by Syria, the Front's position became less tenable and its standing in the Palestinian community eroded even further. Palestinian fighters loyal to the Front stood by PLO defenders of the camps, and the Front's activists increasingly pressured their leaders to seek reconciliation with the PLO.

The dissidents were eventually compelled to rejoin the Palestinian mainstream. They agreed to a series of talks which culminated in the middle of April 1987 in the national dialogue which opened the way to their return to the PLO and participation in the 18th session of the PNC. To commemorate the two crucial events which ended the rebellion against the constitutional authority of the PLO and secured its independence from external control, the organizers of the PNC called the session the "Session of the Camps and National Unity."

Although the political resolutions of the PNC [see accompanying item] by and large reaffirmed previous policy adopted by the 16th and 17th PNC sessions, it approved the abrogation of the PLO-Jordan accord of 1985, which has been dormant since King Hussein suspended coordination with the PLO after the failure of the Amman talks. [On the failure of the Amman talks, see *Palestine Perspectives*, No. 22, March/April 1986].

In that sense, the significance of the 18th session of the PNC is not found in its resolutions. Rather, it is found in the larger statement it makes about the Palestinian national movement. It is important because it demonstrates the existence of a large and stable Palestinian mainstream, able to withstand a great deal of pressure on its cohesiveness and independence. It demonstrates the viability of a broad Palestinian consensus built around the notions of Palestinian self-determination and PLO independence. It further demonstrates a deep popular Palestinian commitment to the democratic process, which accepts political pluralism and political opposition, but shuns coercive means to resolve disagreements on policy issues.

The triumph of PLO unity and independence, affirmed by the 18th session of the PNC, contain an important message to the managers of the peace process. The Palestinians are "here to stay," and no peace process which ignores that fact can get anywhere. □



PREC Photo

"We struggle for a just and comprehensive peace in our region, a peace based on the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right of return, of self-determination and independent state with Jerusalem as its capital."

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat
PNC XVIII
20 April 1987



PNC RESOLUTIONS

The 18th session of the PNC adopted a political program containing resolutions on Palestinian affairs, Palestinian-Arab relations, and international issues. The following is a summary of the resolutions:

Palestinian Affairs

1. The Council reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to return and to self-determination, and the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. It also affirmed the Palestinian people's right to struggle for their attainment.
2. The PNC affirmed the status of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and rejected the notion of delegating that status to any other party and opposed substitutes for the PLO. It also reaffirmed the independence of the PLO and rejected external interference in its affairs.
3. The PNC resolved to continue all forms of struggle for Palestinian national rights, rejected Security Council Resolution 242 as the framework for a settlement in the Middle East because it ignores the national rights of the Palestinian people. It also rejected all plans designed to liquidate the Palestine question, such as the Camp David accords, the Reagan Plan, and schemes for the "functional division" of the West Bank and Gaza between Israel and Jordan.
4. It reaffirmed the PLO's adherence to Arab summit resolutions on the question of Palestine, particularly those of 1974, and its commitment to the Arab peace plan adopted at the Fez Summit of 1982.
5. The PNC affirmed PLO support for the U.N.-sponsored international conference on peace in the Middle East with the participation of all permanent members of the Security Council and the parties concerned, including the PLO, and with full authority to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict.
6. The PNC also decided to reinforce the unity of all Palestinian groups and institutions in the occupied territories to enhance their ability to resist Israeli repression and

schemes to perpetuate the occupation.

7. It also resolved to undertake a united effort to defend the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and to safeguard the rights of the Palestinians in Lebanon in accordance with the 1969 Cairo agreement between the PLO and the government of Lebanon.

Arab Relations

1. The PNC resolved to work for Arab solidarity, to strengthen PLO ties with Arab liberation movements, and to support the struggle of the Lebanese nationalist forces against continued Israeli occupation of the south of Lebanon.
2. It resolved to work for a constructive relationship with Syria on the basis of mutual respect and Arab summit resolutions.
3. It pledged continued PLO efforts to bring the war between Iraq and Iran to an end. The Council expressed its support for Iraq's peace initiatives, and its right to defend its territory.
4. The PNC affirmed the special relationship between the peoples of Palestine and Jordan and resolved to work for its development on the basis of mutual interests.
5. The Council recognized Egypt's historic role in the defense of Arab causes and the sacrifices of its people on behalf of Palestinian rights, and it recognized the importance of Egypt's return to its natural position in Arab ranks. The PNC decided to authorize the PLO Executive Committee to define relations with Egypt on the basis of previous PNC resolutions, especially those of the 16th session.

International Issues

1. The PNC called for strengthening PLO relations with other national liberation movements, and for cooperation with Islamic, African and nonaligned states and the socialist countries.
2. It pledged Palestinian support for the struggle against imperialism and racism, particularly in South Africa, and condemned the alliance between the racist regimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria.
3. The Council resolved to work with the peoples of the world for international peace and cooperation, for disarmament and a world free of the fear of nuclear war. The Council expressed concern regarding Israel's nuclear armament, in collusion with South Africa, and urged the PLO to work for a nuclear-free Middle East.
4. The PNC resolved to develop relations with the democratic forces in Israel which support Palestinian rights, and it condemned Zionist efforts to manipulate the immigration of Jews from their present countries to occupied Palestine.

Organizational Matters

1. The PNC decided to enlarge the membership of the Central Council from 50 to 75 members.
2. It elected a 15-member Executive Committee. Yasser Arafat was reelected Chairman, and the following were elected as members of the Committee: Farouk Qaddoumi, Mahmoud Abbas, Jamal Sourani, Yasser Abed Rabbo, Mustafa Zabri, Iliya Khouri, Mahmoud Darwish, Abdallah Hourani, Suleiman Najjab, Abdel Razzaq Al-Yahya, Muhammad Milhem, Muhammad Abbas, Abdel Rahim Ahmad, and Jawid Al-Ghossein. □

PIO Statement on PNC

The 18th Session of the Palestine National Council held in Algiers from 20-25 April, 1987, was a landmark in the struggle of the Palestinian people for a just peace in the Middle East.

1. It has restored Palestinian unity. By doing so, it not only enhanced the capacity of the PLO to lead the Palestinian people, but it also demonstrated the viability of the Palestinian national consensus and its ability to withstand unprecedented and sustained attempts to undermine the Palestinian decision-making process. This is important at a time like this, when all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict are faced with the responsibility of making hard decisions if peace in the Middle East is to be seriously pursued.

2. The resolutions adopted by the 18th Session of the Palestine National Council demonstrate a continuing Palestinian commitment to a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Council's endorsement of a peace process based on international legitimacy—defined by U.N. resolutions—within the framework of an international peace conference in which the 5 permanent members of the Security Council and all parties to the conflict including the PLO should participate on equal footing is evidence of such commitment.

The PNC supported dialogue with the Israeli democratic forces and those in Israel who oppose Israeli expansion and occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories. This constitutes an invitation to those peace forces in Israel to engage in dialogue with Palestinians for the purpose of enhancing the opportunities for peace in the region. Thus the recent PNC has reaffirmed that the Palestinians have the interest, the right and the ability to discharge their responsibility as a principal party to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to make an indispensable contribution to the peace process.

The indestructibility of the PLO and its unwavering commitment to a just peace in the Middle East—both facts amply demonstrated by the recent PNC—offer an opportunity to transform the peace process from a slogan to a plan for ending a tragic conflict which threatens the peace of the world. □

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In Brief

STUDENTS THREATENED

Israeli Knesset member Michael Eitan, from the right wing Likud, distributed threatening leaflets to Birzeit University students. Flanked by soldiers and reporters, Eitan distributed leaflets warning the students with "prison or the graveyard" if they "exceedingly protested."

AFRICANS CONDEMN ISRAEL

The Labor Commission of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in Dar es-Salaam, condemned Israel's oppression of Palestinian workers in the occupied territories and called on the International Labor Organization to assist the Palestinians suffering under Israeli rule.

POLLARD: SOVIET SPY?

A *New York Times*-CBS News poll, conducted April 5-8, shows that only 18 percent of non-Jews in America know that Jonathan Pollard was an Israeli spy. Thirteen percent thought he spied for the Soviet Union!

ISRAELIS SUPPORT POLLARD

The Israeli "Citizens for the Pollards" group has raised \$186,000 to help pay the legal expenses of Jonathan Jay Pollard and his wife Anne Henderson-Pollard who were convicted in U.S. Court of espionage on behalf of Israel. Most of the funds, according to *The Jerusalem Post* (2 May 1987), have already been transferred to the Pollard's lawyers in the U.S.

U.S. JOURNALISTS PROTEST ISRAELI MEASURES

Barbara Koepfel, Executive Director of the Committee to Protect Journalists, wrote Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to protest the arrest of Palestinian journalists Ma'moun al-Sayyid, Sim'an Khouri and Saleh Zuhaiqah. Ms. Koepfel urged the release of the three journalists unless they are charged and tried in open court for recognizably criminal offenses.

ANALYSIS... THE TRAGEDY AND THE MIRACLE

This June marks the 20th anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the remnants of Palestine, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. During this period, unnoticed by many people outside occupied Palestine, the Israeli occupation has matured into Zionist usurpation.

We continue to call the Israeli presence in the West Bank and Gaza "occupation" out of habit, and because the term is universally recognizable. But in reality, the concept of military occupation no longer fits the conditions Israel has created. It no longer describes its policies, methods or conduct, which have become clearly acts of national dispossession.

It is nothing but an updated version of the colonial territorial aggrandizement practiced by Zionist colonists in Palestine during the thirty years between the two world wars, which produced the state of Israel in 1948. Today, in the West Bank and Gaza, another Israel is being established, and Palestine is being destroyed a second time.

Anyone who tries to understand Israel's policies and conduct in the occupied territories within a different analytical framework is bound to remain unenlightened and mystified. Anyone, for instance, who tries to understand Israel's presence in the occupied territories in reference to its frequently declared security objectives, is bound to collide with an impenetrable wall of irrationality. Israel's settlement activity and its rejection of the Arabs' offer to exchange territory for peace would make no sense at all.

People who find Israel's behavior in the occupied territories incomprehensible or puzzling do so because they proceed from the wrong premise. People who complain—as many people often do—that Israel's behavior is detrimental to its own long-range security objectives assume that these are indeed Israel's overriding policy goals in the Middle East. They discount or at least underestimate Israel's greed for land.

Israel's overriding objective is to complete the usurpation of Palestine. Completing the dispossession of the Palestinians not only gives Israel more land to "ingather" more Jewish colonists in Palestine, but it also closes the file on its victims.

If Israel succeeds in making the West Bank and Gaza into another Israel, it will change the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It will no longer make sense for the Arabs to dispute Israel's claim to the West Bank and Gaza, and the conflict will revert to one between the Arabs and Zionism over Palestine. This is the real tragedy, for the oppressed and the oppressor in the occupied territories.

The miracle behind the tragedy is that the Palestinians survive. And in their survival resides the possibility that Israel will, some day, understand the futility of its ambitions. Many Palestinians in fact believe that a just peace in the Middle East requires that both the tragedy and the miracle take their "natural course." Many Palestinians have come to believe that the Israelis will not relent in their cruel onslaught on them and their land until it is convinced that it has tried and failed. Then and only then will it recognize the reality of Palestinian national existence and come to terms with it.

A harsh prognosis, born out of a most cruel reality. □



Life Under Occupation

TWENTY YEARS UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION

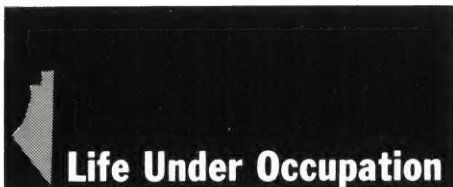
Twenty years ago, Israel completed the conquest of Palestine by occupying the West Bank and Gaza, the two Palestinian regions which had escaped Zionist conquest in the first Palestine War of 1948. At first, Israel pleaded "self-defense" to justify its expansion. It informed the world that it had no intention of adding more Arab territory to its domain, and that it took the West Bank and Gaza "to put its population centers beyond the range of Arab guns."

The deception was quickly revealed by Israel's subsequent behavior in the occupied territories. As soon as the short war of 1967 ended, Israel began to transplant its population into the occupied territories, putting them again "within the range of Arab guns." Then—acting on the well-known premise that people have short memories—it dropped all pretense and began to claim sovereignty over the conquered areas.

Initially, Israel preached the principle of "exchanging territory for peace," meaning that it only took the West Bank and Gaza as hostages to be exchanged for peace with the Arabs. Now that the Arabs have come to accept the territory for peace proposition, Israel is no longer interested. It wants peace as a gift that it did not earn.

Furthermore, Israel's behavior during the past twenty years clearly reveals that from the outset it intended to keep the occupied territories permanently. The concept of exchanging territory for peace was always a public relations slogan and nothing more. In 1967 Israel swallowed the occupied territories and for twenty years it has been trying to digest them. The process came to be known as "creeping annexation." Israelis bragged about the seeming success of this policy, and they now say that it is no

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Life Under Occupation

OCCUPATION

(continued from page 8)

longer possible to separate the West Bank and Gaza from Israel.

It began in Jerusalem, which Israel annexed outright shortly after the 1967 war. It enlarged the area of the annexed Jerusalem municipality, which means that the annexation of Jerusalem in fact entailed the annexation of a large part of the West Bank.

Then it confiscated more than half of the total area of the West Bank and Gaza, and with it much of the water resources of those areas. The confiscated land was not intended for general public use but was set aside for the exclusive use of Jewish settlers. On that land, more than a hundred Jewish colonies were built, and about 150,000 Jewish settlers moved into them. In addition, Jewish settlers began to colonize Arab cities, such as Hebron.

Then economic dependence was created. Israeli currency circulated in the occupied territories, and the Arab work force became a pool of cheap and exploited labor in the Israeli economy. Electricity and water were connected to the Israeli networks. Health institutions were closed or curtailed to make them dependent on Israeli medical services. And the road system was redesigned to tie the West Bank to Israel.

Palestinian municipalities were stripped of their traditional legal authorities and elections were denied (since 1976), mayors were assassinated, dismissed, or deported; and municipal councils were dissolved. Other institutions—such as universities, trade unions, the press—were also crippled through closure, censorship and deportation of their administrators.

A system of apartheid was instituted by creating a dual system of law, one applicable to Jewish settlers and another to the indigenous Palestinian community. The numerous prisons bulged with po-

litical prisoners, and a general system of repression ("iron fist") was imposed on the general population. Collective punishment, the demolition of homes, and settler terrorism became systematic instruments of intimidation.

And the West Bank was renamed "Judea and Samaria" to signify their de-Arabization.

The captive Palestinian community frustrated much of Israel's ultimate design of dismantling the Arab community and transforming it into a vanquished "ethnic minority" in "Greater Israel." It has maintained a highly-developed national consciousness, created a variety of social and educational institutions, and refused to crumble or to vanish. And it continued to resist by all means Israel's attempt to bring about a second destruction of Palestine.

And after twenty years, the Palestinians continue to wait for Israel to learn a simple lesson: that peace is not something you get from others, but something you share with others. □

NAZARETH PREPARES FOR 12th WORK CAMP

The municipality of Nazareth has initiated preparations for the 12th Annual Nazareth Voluntary Work Camp to be held between 22-26 July 1987. American delegations or individual volunteers are urged to contact the municipality as early as possible for further details.

Foreign delegations are expected to arrive two days earlier, i.e. on July 20. A special program for all foreign visitors will be conducted during those two days. It includes sightseeing and special meetings with political leaders. For further information write to:

Municipality of Nazareth
P.O. Box 31
Nazareth, Israel 16000

APPEAL FROM BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY

On April 13, soldiers near Birzeit University's old campus shot and killed senior history student Musa Al-Hanafi and wounded three other students with live ammunition. The military authorities subsequently ordered the old and new campuses of Birzeit University closed for a period of four months, until August 13.

As a result, Birzeit University and its faculty and students are facing the most severe crisis in our history. The events of April 13—and the events of December 4, 1986 when two other students were killed by army gunfire—leave us with the conclusion that our students, and the university itself, have become military targets.

In closing Birzeit University for four months, the military authorities are treating the process of education as callously as they have treated individual students. Two weeks into our second semester, the army has arbitrarily canceled the rest of our academic year. We are barred from entering our classrooms—at present we have not even received permission to enter the campus briefly to retrieve vital records or to attempt to rescue ongoing research projects in our laboratories.

We are determined to do our best to cope with this crisis and we urgently need international assistance to reopen Birzeit University and to return our faculty and students to their classrooms to teach and learn in a secure atmosphere without military interference. We would deeply appreciate your contacting the appropriate officials in your country and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Tel Aviv to protest the killing of Musa Al-Hanafi and to demand the immediate reopening of both campuses of Birzeit University.

(April 15, 1987)

G. A. Baramki
Vice-President

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE

An international conference on peace in the Middle East has become a perennial mirage in the search for Arab-Israeli peace. We are not concerned here with the ongoing speculation about whether or not such a conference is about to convene, but rather with what happens if it does.

It is unfortunate that such a fuss has been made about this procedure for dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict that it began to appear as an end in itself. It has created the illusion that a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is ready and only needs the conference for packaging purposes.

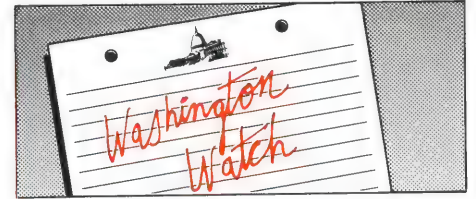
There is nothing farther from the truth. Although the Arabs have, on numerous occasions, declared their readiness to limit their demands to make Arab-Israeli coexistence possible, Israel has yet to make a similar commitment. It still schemes to create a Middle East without Palestine or Palestinians. The Reagan administration has encouraged Israel in the illusion that peace is feasible within this mad ambition by supporting it.

Under such conditions, what would a peace conference achieve...even if it is convened?

Shamir and Reagan have played the hard-to-get game with the Arabs on the question of the peace conference so well that the Arabs have come to view the mere convening of the conference as the ultimate remedy for the plight of the region. They have made themselves easy victims for extortion. Diplomacy has been reduced to the question of what the Arabs would be willing to pay for the favor of inviting them to a peace conference.

The Arabs would be well advised to go easy on the demand for a peace conference...until they convince Washington of the wisdom of an impartial policy on the Middle East. And Washington would be well advised to be more modest about its role in the search for peace...until it becomes a third party and not an appendage to one of the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. As long as Washington refuses to recognize self-determination for the Palestinians, and as long as it is committed to ensuring Israeli hegemony in the Middle East, a peace process will be premature. It will produce a diktat and not a conciliation.

It is not only the Arabs who need peace in the Middle East. And it is not only the Arabs who need a conference on peace in the Middle East. The harder the Arabs clamor for that conference, the easier it becomes to forget this simple fact. \square



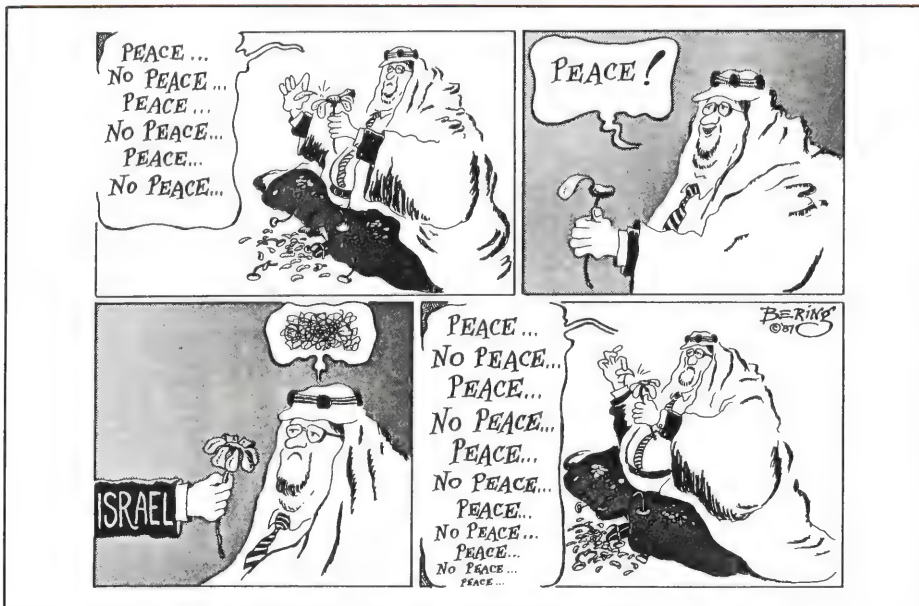
KEMP MOVES TO OUTLAW PLO SUPPORT

Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY) has introduced legislation aimed at prohibiting any form of assistance or support to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The bill is the latest step in an ongoing campaign by AIPAC to outlaw pro-Palestinian political activity in the United States. The campaign is spearheaded in Congress by Kemp and other legislators known for their unqualified support for Israel.

The Kemp bill, cited as the "Anti-PLO Terrorism Act of 1987," would make it a felony for anyone to receive or provide funds or services to the PLO. The proposed legislation states that "Whoever within or without the United States, aids, abets, provides services or funds to or accepts funds from, represents, or acts at the behest or direction of the Palestine Liberation Organization or any of its constituent groups or any successor to any of them, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

Thus, American citizens or organizations engaged in fundraising on behalf of Palestinian educational, health and social needs might be accused of "offering aid and comfort to international terrorism," by virtue of their humanitarian support for such Palestinian institutions as the Palestine Red Crescent Society (the equivalent of the Red Cross), and other PLO-affiliated institutions which perform educational, humanitarian and charitable functions. In fact, the law would create a category of prisoners of conscience in America.

In his introduction of the bill on 29 April, Kemp betrayed his political motivation when he said in justification of it: "The PLO also abandoned its accord with Jordan's King Hussein, and agreed to curtail ties with Egypt because of Egypt's relations with Israel." □



CASE AGAINST L.A. PALESTINIANS DISMISSED

A U.S. Immigration Judge angrily dismissed INS charges against seven Palestinians and the Kenyan wife of one of them on 11 May. The eight were arrested on 26 January 1987 during a massive raid on their homes by FBI, INS and Los Angeles police, even though an extended surveillance failed to provide any evidence that any of them had committed or planned criminal activity. The only "evidence" against them, it turned out, was the possession and distribution of a magazine published by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Judge Ingrid Hrycenko said that "the government could not prove that the charges had been properly authorized." The INS official who had been acting district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service when the eight were first charged, failed to appear in court as he had been ordered. Defense attorneys said that the official did not appear in court "because prosecutors did not have evidence to support the charges." After the judge dismissed the charges, INS officials said the Service might appeal.

In a previous court session, U.S. District Judge Stephen V. Wilson called the Justice Department's use

of the infamous McCarran Act against the Palestinians and the brutal manner of their arrest as "bordering on the outrageous." At that time, the prosecution suddenly dropped charges of political subversion against six of the defendants.

Arab-Americans and many others saw McCarthyite tactics in the way the Palestinians were treated by government agents, and said that the recent disclosure of a secret INS proposal to intern aliens of Arab origin in detention camps indicates that the case against the Los Angeles Palestinians was a test case to determine the feasibility of mass arrests. Many newspapers editorialized on the case. The following are samples of such editorials:

The Boston Globe
18 February 1987

"When seven Palestinians and a Kenyan married to one of the Palestinians were arrested in Los Angeles Jan. 26, the brutal behavior of the federal agents and the McCarthyite charges seemed more appropriate to KGB practice than to the democratic ideals of America. In what may be the first move of a campaign against a targeted group of aliens, these aliens now face deportation under a provision of

the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act that has never before been applied to persons residing in the United States.

"Federal agents kidnapped a 22-year-old student from her college library, handcuffed her and drove her to a private house where they threatened and abused her throughout the night, trying to make her testify against the arrested aliens—her friends. *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis has properly called for punishment of 'the federal agents who behave like totalitarian thugs.'"

The Oakland Tribune
23 February 1987

"If police arrested, handcuffed and threw into a maximum security cell a group of Walnut Creek residents found in possession of a magazine, 'Democratic America,' outraged citizens might wonder whether the premise of ABC's 'Amerika' had come true ahead of schedule.

"But the similar arrest and detention of seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman in Los Angeles on an almost equally flimsy pretext has provoked all too little outrage and wonderment.

"As foreigners, their plight seems remote from the concerns of most citizens. To such recent immigrants, different laws apply. But the shoddy treatment accorded these residents affects the interests and rights of every American."

The Los Angeles Times
27 April 1987

"Government attorneys say that they will charge the two remaining defendants in the case with actually participating in PFLP activities. But the one example that they cite is the distributing of Popular Front literature in this country, and someone passing around pamphlets or newspapers is a far cry from someone making bombs in a basement or inciting to riot. Again, if that's all that the government has to go on, this case is indeed a needless exercise—a travesty based on the overly broad application of a law that should be voted out of the U.S. legal codes." □

THE McCARRAN ACT DEPORTATIONS CASE

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

The case of the eight Palestinians arrested in Los Angeles on January 26 of this year seems like a case out of the past. Like so many others who have expressed outrage over the arrests, I have found the entire incident hard to believe....

What we see now is the use of anti-terrorism hysteria as a means of violating the liberties and human rights of Arab immigrants living in the United States. The individuals arrested are alleged to be members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which they all deny. They all also claim to be absolutely opposed to terrorism. But even if these individuals were codified members of the Popular Front organization, it's im-

portant to recognize that this group is not known to have ever conducted a terrorist activity in the United States. The FBI and INS based the arrests on the grounds that these individuals were national security threats, but this alleged threat seems absolutely nonexistent.

It seems entirely clear that the arrests were designed simply to harass and intimidate a group of Arab-Americans. This should be a concern to every American, for this is a nation that brims with immigrants. The intimidation of any single group based simply on nationality or political beliefs represents a threat to us all. Moreover, it represents an affront to the very principles of our democracy. □

One of the major issues raised by former congressman Paul Findley in his book *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* is that of the freedom of speech. "Many Americans," he wrote, "do not feel they can speak freely on one of the most complicated and challenging current issues: the Arab-Israeli dispute." He sees the Israeli lobby not only as a special interest group which exercises influence detrimental to U.S. interests in the Middle East, but also as a major impediment to the freedom of speech. In his book, he documents actual cases of successful intimidation of politicians, academics, journalists, clergymen and others, stifling the American people's right to debate important issues of public policy of great impact on the national interest in order to ensure limitless and unquestioning support for Israel.

The NAAA [National Association of Arab Americans] Foundation, a Washington-based charitable educational group which seeks to acquaint the American public with the historical, ethnic and cultural heritage of the Arabs, is sponsoring a major essay contest on the central issue raised in Mr. Findley's book. The theme of the contest is "The Development of American Middle East Policy: Is Free Speech Threatened?" The contest, which is open to graduate and undergraduate university students, will award \$240,000 in prizes to 200 winning essays, 40 from each of five regions in the country. The 200 regional winners will be awarded \$1,000 each. In addition, 10 contestants will be chosen as national winners, and each one of them will receive an award of \$4,000. The national winners will also be invited to Washington to receive their awards.

The essays will be judged by a committee of five judges, co-chaired by two nationally known journalists: Tom Braden and Carl Rowan. The committee will make the awards on the basis of "objectivity, clarity, accuracy, depth of scholarship, and insight." The regional winners will be announced on 15 August, and the national winners on 17 September, the 200th anniversary of the signing of the U.S. constitution. □

THEY DARE TO SPEAK OUT

NAAA Essay Contest on Freedom of Speech

Findley's Statement

[Excerpt from Paul Findley's statement to NAAA press conference]:

[As I investigated the tactics of the Israeli lobby], I concluded that the harassment, intimidation, sense of fear, retaliation, stifling of dissent, abuse of influence and all the rest add up to a dangerous erosion of free speech in America. Our constitutional rights as Americans are suffering. Our national interest, the American national interest, is being placed second in the minds of too many policymakers.

Events of the recent past demonstrate the price the United States pays when debate on the Middle East is stifled.

Prior to the U.S. decision to send Marines to Beirut in 1982 as peacekeepers, no debate occurred in Congress and very little in the executive branch on a critical Middle East reality: The U.S. was seen by all Lebanese factions in Beirut as the accomplice of the invading Israelis and our Marines as partisans for Israel—not as peacekeepers for the interests of all parties. The terrible result: nearly 300 Marines were killed.

The absence of debate reflected the influence of Israel's lobby in stifling criticism of Israel's military operations. A full ongoing debate would likely have spared the U.S. from making this costly blunder.

Prior to the U.S. decision to sell arms to Iran in exchange for hostages, the U.S. gave little weight to Israel's huge stake in continuing its own arms trade with Tehran, legitimizing these sales, and driving a new wedge between the U.S. and Arab states. By linking our nation with the Ayatollah, Israel would advance its own interests. As the U.S. formulated policy, criticism of Israel was largely off limits, and the U.S. gave little consideration to these Israeli motivations.

Full debate might have spared the U.S. from making this costly blunder.

The theft of classified docu-

ments, military technology and other secrets for Israel has occurred without letup for years, but due to the government-wide tradition of avoiding criticism of Israel, no one was charged or punished until the arrest of Jonathan Jay Pollard about a year ago.

Criticism of Israel, even criticism of Israeli spying on the U.S., has always been considered off limits. Most zealots for Israel who, like Pollard, are employed in sensitive U.S. jobs are aware of the constant but unchallenged thievery, and Pollard himself had every reason to believe that the FBI would close its eyes to his stealing, as it had in every previous circumstance of spying for Israel.

Had stealing for Israel been treated in a normal fashion, with reasonable effort made to plug the leaks and punish the crooks, Pollard would probably not have dared to carry forward his brazen theft of thousands of documents for Israel, and the U.S. would have been spared the damage his espionage caused, a damage that Defense Secretary Weinberger measures in awesome terms. Weinberger finds it "difficult" to "conceive of a greater harm to national security" than that caused by Pollard.

Even today, Congress rallies heavily against the Reagan Administration for Iran-gate, but not an unfriendly word is voiced about Israel's vital role in luring the Administration into the mess. No one on Capitol Hill demands suspending aid until Israel cooperates fully in our investigation of the Pollard case, for example, or returning Col. Aviem Sella, Pollard's Israeli contact, to the U.S. for trial. The reason: criticism of Israel is off limits. We never seem to learn from past mistakes.

My prescription for change is to open up the debate. We need to get all the questions about Middle East policy out on the table. And we need to look hard at the answers and policy alternatives, as painful as some may be. . . .

No American should be intimidated. None should fear to exercise his or her constitutional right to free speech, or fear to participate as fully as anyone else in the public policy debate. □

Books...

THE PROPHETS OF DOOM

Halsell on the Armageddon Lobby

Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War, by Grace Halsell. Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill & Company, 1986, 200 pages + index. \$14.95 hardcover.

Reviewed by Rev. L. Humphrey Walz

The scandals that have been plaguing television's Armageddon evangelists lately will eventually fade from the headlines and the talk shows. However, Grace Halsell is concerned with a deeper, more persistent scandal than Pat Robertson's questioned claim to be a Korea "combat veteran," Oral Roberts' do-or-die plea for \$8 million to save him from his killer god, or even Jim Bakker's accusations that Jimmy Swaggart had hatched a "diabolical plot" to seize his \$172 million PTL TV empire. That deeper scandal lies in the realm of global politics. There, as Halsell abundantly documents, they displace the Prince of Peace with an ersatz Christ determined to pave the way for his Second Coming with a nuclear holocaust.

With the promotional showmanship and salesmanship scrutinized

by Halsell, they give millions of insecure, frustrated, confused Americans a horrendous hope: "The final holocaust of humanity" is, they assure us, bound to come soon. It will come on the heels of the Soviet invasion of Israel predicted, they claim, by Ezekiel and Revelation. At the subsequent battle of Armageddon or in the follow-up slaughter personally supervised by Jesus, Christ's enemies—broadly conceived—will be annihilated. However, all loyal Christian televiewing check mailers—plus some 144,000 converted Jews—will be, among others, saved by "rapture" to heaven or by other means and will live to enjoy the blessings of a thousand years of basking in the sovereign glory of a militarily triumphant Messiah. "Hey," as Jerry Falwell concluded his December 2, 1984, sermon on this favorite theme (with Halsell in the congregation), "It's great being a Christian! We have a wonderful future ahead!"

A major first step in that direction, as required by the Scofield-Lindsey gospel, is to get all Jews into the Promised Land. Therefore, all the above-mentioned televangelists cozy up to the Israeli and Zionist hawks who have the same program if different goals. According to William Claiborne's *Washing-*

ton Post headline ("Israelis Look on U.S. Evangelical Christians as Potent Allies in Battle With Arab States"), this approach is cordially received. Cooperative guided tours of Israel are part of the buildup.

Having spent more than a year in Israeli and Palestinian homes (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) before writing her *Journey to Jerusalem*, Halsell decided to go on two such trips to see how the same people through Dispensationalist eyes. The Palestinians, Christians and Muslims alike, were generally ignored by the tour guides or represented as obstacles to God's will as being carried out by such of his chosen as Begin, Shamir and Sharon. Her report of related conversations with hundreds of her fellow pilgrims are sobering and not a little frightening.

Far scarier, though, are her revelations of the threats to U.S. domestic and foreign policies by politicians who have been influenced to take comparable apocalyptic views. As Interior Secretary James Watt, for example, indicated to a House Committee, he couldn't worry about the destruction of our national resources in view of Christ's imminent return.

One of Halsell's chapters ("Reagan: Arming for a Real Armageddon") relates the story, in 1971, of James Mills, president pro tem of the California Senate under Governor Reagan. At a dinner in their honor, the then Governor Reagan, "with firelit intensity" told Mills: "In the 38th chapter of Ezekiel, it says that the land of Israel will come under attack by the armies of the ungodly nations, and it says that Libya will be among them... Libya has now gone communist, and that's a sign that Armageddon isn't far off," an Armageddon for which we are divinely commanded to have, with readiness to use, a victory-guaranteeing nuclear arsenal.

A former Korea and Vietnam war correspondent with experience as a White House speech writer, Halsell's awareness of both the horrors of war and the pressures on U.S. policymaking permeates her very readable and thoroughly researched book on a complex and controversial theme. □



HATE VIOLENCE

ADC Report on Violence Against Arab-Americans

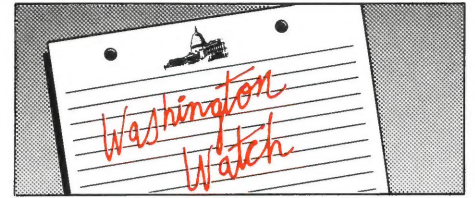
The Washington-based American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) has issued its first annual report on politically-motivated violence against Arab-Americans and their institutions. The 30-page report, prepared by Albert Mokhiber, the director of ADC's Legal Services Department, contains a list of incidents of violence against Arab-Americans reported in 1986. They include physical attacks resulting in bodily injury, arson against Arab-American offices and vandalism of places of worship, homes and places of business. They also include telephone threats, bomb threats and other forms of harassment.

The ADC report describes 42 incidents of violence and threats of violence. Michigan, California and Washington, DC, lead the list of localities where such incidents occurred in 1986. The report says that there have been no convictions of any of the perpetrators of violence

against Arab-Americans. Its author says that the report is published "to sensitize the American public and government officials to the growing dangers facing this segment [Arab-Americans] of our population."

In another expression of concern about unpunished violence against Arab-Americans, Dr. James J. Zogby, Director of the Arab American Institute in Washington, criticized the nomination of FBI Director William Webster to the vacant post of CIA Director. Dr. Zogby said in a printed statement that "Mr. Webster has displayed a cavalier attitude to civil rights as evidenced by the FBI's repeated assaults on the rights of Arab and Arab-American political activists during the past nine years."

The FBI has not only failed to prosecute perpetrators of violence against Arab-Americans, Zogby said, but the Bureau itself practiced harassment against them. "In 1982," he said, "I met with senior officials of the FBI and presented them with affidavits from 90 Arab and Arab-American political activists in southern California. They complained of FBI harassment, including late night visitations and



interrogations as to their political involvement and activities."

"At the same time," Zogby continued, "I presented to these officials over 12 complaints from California Arab-Americans of instances of physical violence or threats of violence against them. Today, eighteen months after the murder of Alex Odeh, a southern California Arab-American and political leader, the case remains unsolved. And, while little or no progress has been made in the Odeh case, we now learn that the FBI has, for the last year, been conducting an 'intensive investigation' into the political activity of Palestinians in southern California."

The ADC report is entitled "1986 ADC Report on Political and Hate Violence." It can be obtained from ADC, 1731 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009, telephone (202)797-7662. □

MASSACRE SURVIVORS SUE YARON IN U.S. COURT

Three Sabra and Shatila massacre survivors filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia against Israeli Military Attache in the U.S., Major General Amos Yaron. The civil suit, filed on 4 May 1987, seeks damages against Yaron for "the wrongful torture and murder" of the plaintiffs' relatives and "for injuries to the plaintiffs at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut, Lebanon in September 1982."

The named plaintiffs in the case, Fatimeh Ali Aidi, Zeineb Sa'ad and Samia A. Khatib, are seeking compensatory and punitive damages. They are represented by attorneys Linda Huber and Francis A. Boyle. The suit is the first legal action against an Israeli military officer implicated in the 1982 massacre.

During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Yaron commanded the Israeli forces which occupied and controlled West Beirut. In 1983, the Israeli Kahan Commission stripped him of his

military field command as a result of his complicity in the Sabra and Shatila massacre of 16-18 September 1982. Three years later in August 1986, he was appointed as Israel's military attache in the U.S. and Canada. The latter has denied Yaron diplomatic accreditation.

Counsel for the plaintiffs argues that as civilian residents of refugee camps in Beirut, the plaintiffs and their deceased relatives were "protected persons" under the terms of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. As commander of the Israeli forces occupying West Beirut, Yaron was not only responsible for plaintiffs' protection, but was also liable for any reprisals, physical suffering and extermination of civilian residents.

The complaint also charges Yaron with being "individually culpable for the actions of the Phalangists taken against the plaintiffs and their deceased relatives, under the Nuremberg Principles," which de-

fine and outlaw war crimes and crimes against humanity. Furthermore, this action relies upon U.S. legal precedents which hold that an official or commander is responsible for war crimes when he had actual knowledge, or should have had knowledge, through reports received by him that troops or other persons subject to his control are about to commit or have committed war crimes, and fails to take the necessary and reasonable steps to ensure compliance with the law of war.

As to Yaron's diplomatic status as military attache at the Israeli Embassy, the plaintiffs argue that his position does not entitle him to diplomatic immunity under the Fourth Geneva Convention which expressly waives such protection for those alleged to have committed grave breaches of that Convention. Also, under the Nuremberg Principles, two governments cannot agree to immunize a war criminal from accountability for his acts. □

QUALIFIED EQUALITY

In a democratic country, every citizen is equal before the law (irrespective of race, religion, sex, etc.). Right? Wrong. In the State of Israel, the police, charged with upholding the law, classify the citizenry in two separate categories. There are Jewish citizens—every single one of whom is absolutely harmless, as is common knowledge. So anyone whose ID card identifies him as a Jew isn't stopped and searched at police roadblocks. A Jew can, for instance, walk out of Dimona nuclear reactor with photographs of the installation tucked in his briefcase, and no one will stop him at a roadblock, because they are too busy checking all those citizens whose ID cards are marked "Arab."

This same Jew can also easily board a plane to Australia, because the security personnel at the airport will see he's a Jew and so will confine themselves to the routine question: Did anyone (an Arab or someone who looks like an Arab?) give you something to take with you on the flight? But when it comes to the Arab family that had booked the same flight (to visit relatives in Australia), they will squeeze all their toothpaste out of its tubes, empty their cans of shaving cream, open every packet and scatter the contents all over the counter. And incidentally, they won't find a thing.

For, in the opinion of the Israeli police, which has been charged

with upholding the law—the same law which stipulates that every citizen is equal before the law—a Jew is innocent till proven guilty, while an Arab is guilty till proven innocent. Therefore, the police must be able to positively identify all Arabs, so that at the appropriate moment they can wave all Arabs to the right, all Jews—go on home....

Specifying national affiliation on ID cards is an undemocratic act. I can just imagine the outcry that would arise if, in the United States, all Jews were made to be identified as such....

As for the security argument, on which the Israeli police bases its demand to continue specifying national affiliation [on ID cards], this is an indicator of weakness in Israeli democracy. It is a blatant affront to the right of Arab citizens to be equal before the law and before those charged with upholding it. It also undermines the principle that every citizen is innocent and is to be treated accordingly until proven otherwise. This use of the information as to one's national affiliation is tantamount to pinning on a yellow star. We of all people should have been more sensitive to this. □

Avner Tavori

[Published in Hebrew by *Davar* of 6 January 1987. Translated by Israel Press Briefs, No. 51, February 1987.]

FAYEZ SAYEGH AWARDS

The Fayez Sayegh Awards for 1987 have been given to Ibrahim Bakr, a prominent Palestinian lawyer and political activist in Amman, Jordan; Fouzi El-Asmar, a Palestinian journalist, poet and author; and Mansour Kardosh, a veteran political activist resident of Nazareth and founder of Al-Ard movement. In addition, the award was granted to El-Hakawati Theater company and Al-Kateb monthly journal, both based in Jerusalem. The awards are given to individuals and institutions chosen for their contribution to human principles and a better understanding of the Palestinian cause.

The Fayez Sayegh Memorial Award was established in 1985 in memory of the late Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, noted Palestinian author, educator and diplomat. Dr. Sayegh spent 30 years of his life in the United States, where he earned a reputation as an eminent scholar, statesman and eloquent spokesman for the cause of Palestine. Sayegh received his Ph.D. in philosophy from Georgetown University. He taught at Stanford and Yale Universities, and became a Fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford. His numerous books and articles have appeared in 16 languages throughout the world. □



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